

EXHIBIT 4

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Profile: The Prince and Osama bin Laden; Prince Turki al-Faisal offers insight into Osama bin Laden and US relations to Saudi Arabia

Announcer: December 10th, 2001. CHRIS BURY, anchor:

(VO) Americans know only his face and his crimes.

Mr. TURKI AL-FAISAL: He was quite a pleasant man, very soft-spoken.

BURY: (VO) This man knew him before he was a household name.

Prince AL-FAISAL: He thinks he has an open ticket to heaven.

BURY: (VO) But did Saudi Arabia miss a chance to capture him?

Dr. SAED AL-FAGI: (ph) The Saudis refuse because they are stuck. They cannot let him free, they cannot imprison him, and they cannot kill him, and they cannot hand him over to the Americans. Each option will give them bad trouble.

BURY: (VO) And in the end, he believes there are few options left when dealing with Osama bin Laden.

Prince AL-FAISAL: Either kill him or arrest him.

BURY: (VO) Tonight: The Prince and Osama bin Laden.

Announcer: From ABC News, this is NIGHTLINE. Substituting for Ted Koppel and reporting from Washington, Chris Bury.

BURY: Exactly two months ago, the president's national security adviser asked the networks not to broadcast Osama bin Laden videotapes. They were propaganda, she warned, that might also contain hidden messages. But now the White House, itself, may soon release a bin Laden video. The reason, of course, is that this one helps make the president's case. In the view of the White House, the video, discovered two weeks ago in Afghanistan, is a smoking gun. In it, bin Laden apparently acknowledges, for the first time, he had advance knowledge the September 11th attacks were coming. According to senior officials who've seen it, he expresses some surprise, and great satisfaction, at the extent of the devastation. 'What's more,' those officials say, 'bin

Laden appears amused that some of the hijackers did not realize they were on a suicide mission.' Today, President Bush offered his impressions after viewing the tape.

PRESIDENT GEORGE W. BUSH: This man wants to destroy any semblance of civilization for his own power and his own good. He's so evil that he's willing to send young men to commit suicide while he hides in caves. But for those who see this tape, they'll realize that, not only is he guilty of incredible murder, he has no conscience and no soul, and that he represents the worst of civilization.

BURY: The newly discovered video may be a vivid reminder of bin Laden's evil, but the United States, and its allies, have known that for a long time without doing much about it. In 1998, the US fired cruise missiles into a bin Laden training camp, but he had already fled. Saudi Arabia, ostensibly a US ally in the war on terrorism, squandered several chances to nab its most infamous fugitive. Indeed, the longtime chief of Saudi intelligence and Osama bin Laden go way back, as we hear in this report from ABC's John Miller.

JOHN MILLER reporting:

(VO) Cruising at 30,000 feet, a chartered jet owned by the Saudi Arabian government, carries a single passenger. He is Prince Turki al-Faisal, and being a member of the Saudi royal family has made him wealthy. But being chief of Saudi Arabia's intelligence service for a quarter of a century has made him one of the very few men on a first-name basis with George Bush, Bill Clinton and Osama bin Laden.

Prince AL-FAISAL: Bin Laden rings bell in all Saudi ears.

MILLER: You knew who he was before you met him?

Prince AL-FAISAL: Well, his name is--is quite famous.

MILLER: (VO) Bin Laden's father, the late Mohammed bin Laden, was very close with Prince Turki's father, the late King Faisal. Bin Laden built much of Saudi Arabia's infrastructure and a \$5 billion fortune. That is where Osama bin Laden's money comes from.

(OC) We hear \$250, \$300 million. What's your estimate of what his real worth is?

Prince AL-FAISAL: When I left the intelligence department, our latest estimate was that he could not have had more than \$40 or \$50 million.

MILLER: Still enough to be a troublemaker.

Prince AL-FAISAL: Well, of course. Of course.

MILLER: (VO) But in 1983, when the spymaster prince first met young Osama bin Laden, he didn't seem to be a troublemaker.

(OC) How did he strike you?

Mr. AL-FAISAL: He was quite a pleasant man. Very soft-spoken. And he seldom spoke, as a matter of fact.

MILLER: That day, in the Saudi Embassy in Pakistan, could you ever have pictured or imagined that he would go on to become what he is?

Prince AL-FAISAL: I wish I could. Then I could have done something about it then.

MILLER: (VO) Back then bin Laden was organizing support operations against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. He later fought in some front-line battles. And when the Soviets withdrew in 1989, bin Laden returned to Saudi Arabia a hero. As Turki explained, the split came when bin Laden made a proposal to the Saudi Arabian government to take on the Iraqi army after they invaded Kuwait.

Mr. AL-FAISAL: He would collect an army of mujahideen from all over the Muslim world and bring that army to--to the kingdom and drive the Iraqis out of Kuwait. And I think at that time you--we see the first signs of--of--of a disturbed mind, in my view.

MILLER: (VO) Instead of bin Laden's rag tag army, the Saudis opted for US Military support against Saddam Hussein. Bin Laden was outraged. Bin Laden relocated to the Sudan where he assembled his own army, became a critic of the Saudi regime, and began plotting attacks against America. A series of family members were sent to try and convince bin Laden to stop and come home.

Mr. AL-FAISAL: His mother went to see him. His uncle--his uncle was 80 years old. He went to see him in the Sudan to try to convince him to come back. He refused. And because he continued his campaign against the kingdom, he was stripped of his citizenship in 1994.

MILLER: (VO) By the time bin Laden moved his bases to Afghanistan, the United States, the French and the Egyptians blamed him for terrorist attacks. In Afghanistan, bin Laden began training thousands of men to fight the holy war. Despite that, the Saudis turned down two offers, including one from the Taliban to have bin Laden returned to Saudi Arabia.

Mr. AL-FAISAL: The Taliban took over and they sent word to the kingdom saying, 'We have this fellow here. Do you want us to hand him to you or shall we keep him here? We offered him refuge and so on.' We said, 'Well, if you have already offered him refuge, make sure that he does not operate against the kingdom or say anything against the kingdom.' And they took full responsibility for, you know, keeping his mouth shut.

MILLER: (VO) But by 1998, the United States was pressing hard for bin Laden's capture. Prince Turki was dispatched to a secret meeting with Taliban leader Mullah Omar to arrange for bin Laden to be handed over to the Saudis.

Mr. AL-FAISAL: I repeated to Sheik Mullah Omar, 'Do you agree that you're going to hand over this fellow and that the only thing required is for us to sit down together and work out the modalities?' And he said, 'Assure the king and the crown prince that this is my view.'

MILLER: (VO) Then bin Laden struck. Simultaneous truck bombs at US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania killed 224 people. Prince Turki was sent back to Afghanistan to press the Taliban leader, Mullah Omar, to hand bin Laden over.

Mr. AL-FAISAL: Out of nowhere, out of the blue, I mean, he turns to me and he says, 'Why are you doing this? Why are you persecuting and harassing this courageous, valiant Muslim? Instead of doing that, why don't you put your hands in ours and--and let us go together and liberate the Arabian peninsula from the infidel soldiers.'

MILLER: (VO) He was saying to you what bin Laden had been saying?

Prince AL-FAISAL: Absolutely. And so, I just stood up and said, 'Look, I'm not going to take any more of this,' and I just left.

MILLER: (VO) Months later, bin Laden told ABC News he had heard of Turki's secret mission.

Mr. OSAMA BIN LADEN: (Through translator) He returned empty-handed. He looked ashamed, as if he had come at the request of the American government. It's none of the business of the Saudi regime to come and ask for handing over Osama bin Laden.

Prince AL-FAISAL: I would say he's blinded by his pride. He thinks he has an open ticket to heaven, and hence whatever he does on--on this earth is--is to his credit, even if it is the matter of--of slaughtering thousands of people, innocent people.

BURY: Did the Saudi government do everything it could to prevent the attacks on September 11th? That in part two of John Miller's report when we come back.

Announcer: This is ABC NEWS: NIGHTLINE, brought to you by...

(Commercial break)

BURY: The Saudi government has long had a complicated relationship with the United States. Nothing made that more clear than the events of September 11th, as John Miller explains in part two of his report.

MILLER: (VO) Within 48 hours of the September 11th attacks, US investigators notified the Saudi government that 15 of the 19 hijackers were Saudi Arabian citizens.

Prince AL-FAISAL: That is what is so disturbing about what happened after September 11th, because from our point of view in Saudi Arabia, we've had a long-standing excellent relationship with the United States.

MILLER: (VO) Long-standing, but not always excellent, when it came to fighting terrorism. When a US military base was bombed at al-Khobar in 1996 leaving 19 servicemen dead, the Saudis refused to allow the FBI access to the suspects or the evidence. Senior FBI officials believed the Saudis didn't want the US to uncover the alleged role of the Iranian government.

Prince AL-FAISAL: If, through Hezbollah, they had support from Iran, I would know about that.

MILLER: You would know about everything. You were the head of Saudi intelligence.

Prince AL-FAISAL: Well...

MILLER: There's an American theory, an FBI theory that Saudis figured out quickly that it was the Iranians.

Prince AL-FAISAL: Both your government and our government are not going to talk about this issue until and unless the investigation is completely finished.

MILLER: (VO) That investigation has been ongoing for five years.

Attorney General JOHN ASHCROFT: Today we are releasing the photographs of 19 hijackers.

MILLER: (VO) But after the September 11th attacks, the FBI hoped the Saudis would be more forthcoming when they asked for background investigations into the hijackers and for suspected terrorist financial sources in Saudi Arabia to be frozen.

Pres. BUSH: Somebody asked me the other day was I pleased with the actions of Saudi Arabia? I am.

MILLER: (VO) Publicly, that was the Bush administration's position, but privately, government officials were telling reporters they were not satisfied that the Saudis were doing all they could.

Prince AL-FAISAL: Your people talked to us with a forked tongue, and that disturbs us.

MILLER: (VO) The subject of bin Laden and just how much support he really has at home is a sensitive one. London-based Saudi dissident, Dr. Saed al-Fagi, believes the Saudi government deliberately avoided capturing bin Laden on more than one occasion.

Dr. AL-FAGI: The Saudis refuse because they are stuck. They cannot let him free, they cannot imprison him, and they cannot kill him, and they cannot turn him over to the Americans. Each option will give them bad trouble.

MILLER: (VO) Dr. Al-Fagi believes that many Saudis support bin Laden, and even the September 11th attacks.

Dr. AL-FAGI: They were not happy for the death of the people. They were happy for that--the economic symbol and the military symbol of America has been shattered.

MILLER: (VO) It is difficult, in any scientific way, to gauge if that's true. There are no opinion polls in Saudi Arabia, and the press does not feel free to criticize the government. That is why it's unusual for Western reporters to be allowed to wander without government supervision. But when one can, it becomes clear that the opinions of Saudis often differ from that of the royal regime.

Unidentified Man #1: (Through translator) I just want to bring your attention to one thing, bin Laden has no reasons, bin Laden is wearing a Swiss watch. He's wearing American uniforms and American textile. I don't think he dares to attack the US.

Unidentified Man #2: (Through translator) Until now, we did not see bin Laden hitting the towers. We have no evidence. But we see that the American warplanes are taking to the sky and hitting civilians every day.

MILLER: (VO) But Prince Turki disagrees.

Prince AL-FAISAL: And I think those who--who always claim that there is no proof, give us the proof, they are blinding themselves to what is directly in front of them.

MILLER: (VO) Many felt when it came to Arabs and Israelis, there was a double standard in American foreign policy.

Unidentified Man #3: (Through translator) Why there is not a policy that prevent Israel from carrying out these attacks against the Palestinians? It's always the Palestinians who are blame [sic].

MILLER: (VO) And some believed the September 11th attacks were what finally got America's attention.

Unidentified Man #4: (Through translator) After the attack, there was a lot of dramatic moves, and they moved the US administration to announce they supp--support a Palestinian state. They want to end the Israeli occupation.

MILLER: (VO) From the marketplace to the most upscale mall in Riyadh, a man educated in the United States shared the same opinion.

Unidentified Man #5: I believe in--in--that history will judge bin Laden as someone who did some big mistake, but hopefully this mistake will make people aware of the other mistakes that's been done by the American government.

MILLER: (VO) At home, the Saudi regime finds itself with an image problem. Many Saudis feel the royal family is too cordial with the United States, Israel's most strident supporter.

(OC) How much support do you think Osama bin Laden has in Saudi Arabia?

Prince AL-FAISAL: I think he has support.

MILLER: (VO) And that support has created an image problem for the Saudis in the US. To deal with that, the Saudis have hired Washington PR firms and have gone on an ad campaign, underlying their friendship and support of the United States. And they've allowed an official, who has never appeared before on American television, to answer questions about the man who is now the best known or at least most infamous Saudi on earth.

Prince AL-FAISAL: One of the reasons why I am talking to you is that I want people to know what I know of this man and what I know of the Taliban, and efforts that the kingdom made to--to--to rein them in and control them and--and hopefully prevent the destruction that can come from them.

BURY: We'll talk with John Miller about the hunt for Osama bin Laden when we return.

(Commercial break)

BURY: ABC's John Miller, one of the few American reporters ever to have interviewed Osama bin Laden, joins us now from New York. John, one of the most remarkable things in your report is your account of the split between the Saudis and Osama bin Laden apparently when bin Laden offered to wage a jihad against Iraq at the beginning of the Gulf War and the Saudis said, 'No, we'll take our chances with the US military.'

MILLER: Well, here's bin Laden, who had tasted combat and even victory against the Russians, and it was an adrenaline low to be home after the adulation of being a hero. He felt that he could take on

Saddam Hussein, drive the Iraqis out of Kuwait, and he also felt that if American military came to Saudi Arabia, they would never leave. And on that count, at least, he was right. But it does show he had a certain level of confidence, perhaps more than reality.

BURY: And when his offer was spurned, the Saudis realized that he may be a bit off balance, to put it mildly, is that right?

MILLER: Well, he was back to them a short time later with a new plan. Now he wanted to invade south Yemen and take on the communist government there with his mujahideen troops using Saudi Arabia as a--as a base to do that from and of course they turned down that offer flat, also. And that was--that was when he left.

BURY: So how did Osama bin Laden go from wanting to wage jihad, holy war, against Iraq to having contact with Saddam's regime a few years later?

MILLER: Well, I think it was my enemies, enemy is my friend. After the bombing of the US embassies, Saddam Hussein sent an emissary to bin Laden essentially saying, 'If you need refuge, you can find it here.' Yet, when I spoke to bin Laden he had little use for--for Saddam Hussein, considering him too Western, too bourgeoisie, not a pure Muslim.

BURY: Why, John, did the Saudis reject that offer from the Taliban to turn over bin Laden at a point when they knew that the United States, its ally, desperately wanted bin Laden?

MILLER: Well, they had offers from the Sudan to take bin Laden back, but the Saudis claim it was on the condition they couldn't try him. Then from the Afghanistan government that was in place before the Taliban, and they felt that bin Laden was too much of a hot potato because he'd become a spokesman against the regime in-country. So, I think at that point they thought it was better to leave him in Afghanistan where they thought he couldn't do much harm, at least against the kingdom. And it was before the United States had really become terribly cognizant of all that they now believe that he was behind back then.

BURY: John, in just the few seconds we have left, why are the Saudis, who are so embarrassed by bin Laden, now opening up their government to reporters like you?

MILLER: I think they realize they have a real public relations problem, given the number of Saudis that were among the hijackers, given that bin Laden comes from a--a prominent Saudi family, and given that there is a feeling among many Western governments and agencies that many people in Saudi Arabia were allowed to help him with support and money. I think they are trying to dispel that with all the forces they have.

BURY: John Miller, thank you very much.

When we come back, the latest news from the front lines in Afghanistan.

(Commercial break)

BURY: The Taliban in Afghanistan may be defeated, but as a senior Pentagon official warned today, it ain't over yet. I'm joined now by ABC's Bob Woodruff in Kabul, Afghanistan.

And Bob, I take it there still is some pretty serious fighting?

BOB WOODRUFF reporting:

Very serious fighting, Chris. The--the anti-Taliban forces say that they forced the al-Qaeda fighters higher up into the mountains. They've launched a three-prong attack from the East and the West and the North and the Pakistanis have brought in troops from the South to try to cut off the escape route through the smuggling roads over into Pakistan. And the US has now dropped one of these giant 15,000-pound bombs called a Daisy Cutter which kills just about everything within a very large radius around where it hits. But a lot of difficult fighting going on but the al-Qaeda fighters are fighting back with mortars and machine guns and many believe now that unless the anti-Taliban forces begin to go cave by cave and fight these al-Qaeda fighters where they're dug in, this could go on for a very long time, that just firing away at this mountain with tanks will not be all that effective, Chris.

BURY: When the United States does drop a bomb like this--this huge 15,000-pound bomb, how difficult is it to gauge whether or not it's been successful?

WOODRUFF: Well, there are US Special Forces troops that are working with the anti-Taliban fighters so they are calling in some of these targets. They are on their communications devices with the planes above to--to--to target these places. But you're right, to actually get to the spot where this has hit is very difficult. The al-Qaeda fighters are up at higher elevations. They have some good intelligence at lower elevations, but up there, at the very top of the mountains where these al-Qaeda fighters have now dug in, it's difficult to see exactly what's happened.

BURY: Bob, very quickly, the former US Embassy in Kabul now back in American hands?

WOODRUFF: Well, the Marines are there now. They've taken it over. They've got sandbags on top of the buildings. US diplomats are back in there. There will be some kind of US diplomatic presence here in Kabul. Whether it's at that building, which has been ransacked by a Taliban mob in September, or at another place is yet to be seen, but there will be a US diplomatic presence here again and embassy probably sometime very soon.

BURY: Bob Woodruff in Kabul. Thank you. That's our report for tonight. I'm Chris Bury in Washington. For all of us here at ABC News, good night.

----- INDEX REFERENCES -----

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